HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE BETHLEM ROYAL HOSPITAL AND THE MAUDSLEY HOSPITAL

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THE Bethlem Royal Hospital is one of the five Royal Hospitals of the City of London, the other being St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, Christ's Hospital, and Bridewell. Although ostensibly royal foundations of the 16th century, all but the last two were actually refoundations, and Bethlem, when it was "granted" to the City, had not only been in existence for three centuries but had been under the patronage of the City for more than two.

The Bethlem Royal Hospital was founded in 1247, although at the time its founder neither intended nor foresaw the centuries of charitable work which lay before it. Simon Fitzmary, an alderman and twice sheriff of the City of London, granted all his lands in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate to the Church of St. Mary of Bethlehem, with the object of establishing a priory where the rule and order of that church would be professed, where divine service could be celebrated for the souls of Fitzmary and of his friends and relations, and where the bishop of Bethlehem and members of the order could be received whenever they should come there. The deed confirming this grant was dated October 23, 1247. The land conveyed in it, in Bishopsgate, is now covered by part of Liverpool Street station. The name "Bethlem," with its innumerable variants of which the most notorious is "Bedlam," is a corruption of "Bethlehem," and came into use early in the priory's history.

The house's development over the next century is obscure, but it did not prosper, and in 1346 the master and brethren were obliged to petition the City for help in the running of their affairs. As a result it was put under the supervision of members of the Court of Aldermen, and

its association with this body of governors thus long precedes the arrangements made in the 16th century.

By now it had acquired the designation of "hospital" or "hospice," which indicates that it was already providing a harbor for wayfarers, and perhaps also a refuge for the infirm. By the end of the 14th century the second of these functions had become established; moreover there is documentary evidence that in 1403 six of the patients residing there were men deprived of their reason (sex viri mente capti). From this time on, Bethlem's ministrations to the mentally ill have continued unbroken.

Until the dissolution of the religious houses Bethlem retained its monastic status, but with the dispersion of the religious orders which ran them, the hospitals were no longer able to care for the City's poor. In 1538 a movement was begun which ended in the purchase of the hospitals by the City. Bethlem does not seem to have featured in the negotiations at first, but was included in the charter of 1547, by which its government and that of St. Bartholomew's was vested in the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London.

In 1556 an order of the Court of Aldermen directed that Bethlem be administered by the governors of Christ's Hospital, but in 1557 the hospital was annexed to Bridewell; one set of governors and one treasurer were appointed for both hospitals, an arrangement which lasted until the introduction of the National Health Service.

Bridewell, a new foundation of Edward VI, was intended as an institution for employment of the idle and for correction of the disorderly. It developed along two separate lines, as a prison and as a place for the training of apprentices, and the latter part of it finally emerged, after much 19th century reform, as a school. This still exists as King Edward's School at Witley in Surrey.

Bethlem's next major upheaval came in 1674 when it was decided that the hospital house, still occupying the original site in Bishopsgate, was "old, weak and ruinous," and also too small and cramped—it never held more than 50 to 60 patients—and should be rebuilt elsewhere.

A site was obtained on lease from the City that backed onto London Wall and looked north over Moorfields (now approximately occupied by Finsbury Circus); and on this the new building, capable of holding 120 patients, was erected between April 1675 and July 1676. Later additions enlarged the accommodation to more than 250. The

architect was Robert Hooke, and his design, French in spirit and palatial in concept, was much and justly admired by the Court of Governors, by connoisseurs, and by the general public; but its elegant exterior belied the life inside, and the period of occupation at Moorfields must go down as the most regrettable in the hospital's history. This was the era when tourists thronged the galleries at weekends and bank holidays, and when the name of Bedlam acquired its well-known connotations.

Until the 18th century Bethlem was the only public institution of its kind in the country, and this attracted an attention and gave it a contemporary reputation which, if deserved, has subsequently done much to obscure another fact; that the only alternative form of treatment, in private "madhouses," was frequently far worse and moreover had to be paid for. As it was a charitable hospital, one of the conditions of admission was that neither the patient nor his friends (which included relatives) could afford to pay for private care, and the governors never turned away a deserving person for whom there was room. Whatever might be said of the officers and servants, whose conduct frequently led to abuses, the governors on the whole and according to their lights administered the hospital in accordance with its charitable purpose. Their lights may have been a little dim; but given the prevailing social attitudes and state of medical knowledge, there would certainly have been little hope for many of their patients, wherever they had been; and a high proportion were, in fact, discharged cured.

For a long time only those who were considered curable could be admitted, and a bond had to be entered into for their removal, whether cured or not, whenever the hospital should see fit to discharge them. A patient who had not recovered after 12 months was deemed incurable, and his friends, or the parish overseers, were requested to take him away.

In the 18th century, however, a fund was set up for incurable cases, largely supported by an estate in Lincolnshire bequeathed specifically for this purpose by Edward Barkham, who died in 1733. Two wings were added to the building (then at Moorfields), and patients who had been discharged uncured could be readmitted when a vacancy occurred if it was plain that they could not be cared for outside.

The speed with which the Moorfields hospital was erected turned out to be no cause for congratulation, having been achieved through a total disregard for the most elementary precautions and for most of the accepted techniques of building. Within 100 years it was beginning to fall apart. The site had been an unfortunate choice, being part of the old city ditch, which was in effect a rubbish pit of long accumulation. No foundations had been provided, which further encouraged subsidence; the bricks were bad, the timbers too short, the walls not properly tied, and the roof too heavy. By the beginning of the 19th century no floor remained level, no wall upright, and the front, according to the architect's report, waved out of line and inclined north and south according to the direction in which it had settled. It was "dreary, low, melancholy, and not well aired," and nothing could be done about it.

It was therefore decided to move again and, after much difficulty, a site was found in St. George's Fields, Southwark, formerly occupied by the notorious Dog and Duck Tavern. Because of the terms of the Moorfields lease, it was necessary for the City to exchange this land for the old site, for the remainder of the term of 999 years which had been created in 1674; and as a result of another exchange made this century, the lease is still in operation today.

The new building was begun in 1812 and completed in 1815. The surveyor for the hospital, James Lewis, was responsible for the design, which he adapted from the three prize-winning plans in a national competition; though the dome, later to be its best known feature, was not added until 1844-1846 by the then surveyor, Sydney Smirke. The central part of this building now houses the Imperial War Museum, the wings having been pulled down. The fabric of the Moorfields building was sold off at a series of auctions.

A feature of the new hospital was the provision of separate blocks to accommodate so-called Criminal Lunatic patients. Bethlem had from time to time received patients by order of the government for over a century, but the attempted assassination of George III by James Hadfield in 1800 and changes in the law consequent on this case had brought the need for a separate establishment into prominence. The rebuilding scheme gave an opportunity for such a provision. The government, in addition to its grant toward the rest of the building, paid for the whole construction of the Criminal Department and thereafter contributed annually a portion of the officers' salaries on this account, as well as the maintenance costs of the inmates. While the Secretary of State,

later the Home Secretary, retained over-all responsibility for the department, it was run as an integral part of the hospital, and this system continued until Broadmoor was built. The women were transferred to Broadmoor in 1863, the men in 1864.

A number of improvements were made in the new hospital from the outset, but the period of real reform began in 1852 when the first resident medical superintendent, Sir Charles Hood, was appointed. Within a short time the wards were comfortably furnished, entertainments and excursions were organized for the patients, and kindness and understanding rather than coercion on the part of the attendants became a reality throughout the hospital, instead of the unfulfilled ideal which it had so often been in the past. Equally important, Hood initiated a properly organized system of lectures and clinical instruction, which led to the rapid rise of Bethlem's reputation as a teaching center.

At about the same time there was a change in the type of patient admitted. It was felt that the county asylums (established under an Act of 1808) were now able to provide for the pauper classes, who previously formed a large proportion of Bethlem's admission; and a greater need for special provisions was arising in a different quarter. Under Hood's guidance, therefore, the emphasis came to be laid increasingly on the admission of middle-class patients whose loss of livelihood prevented them from paying for private treatment, and for whom the alternative of a county asylum would mean the additional distress of "going on the parish." Evidence of genuine poverty was still required in each case, though the Charity Commissioners later agreed to a relaxation of the rules so that paying patients could also be taken. Treatment remained the same for all, but this did away with the anomalous situation in which possession of means, rather than lack of them, might preclude anyone from getting the best treatment available.

The need for more space was partly met in 1870 by the opening of a convalescent establishment at Witley in Surrey, and this continued in use until the whole hospital moved to Beckenham. An outpatients' department was also opened in 1919, and in 1924 the hospital was admitted as a medical school of the University of London, a status which it retained until 1946.

A restricted site, increasingly urban surroundings, and buildings designed in an age holding very different views about the needs of psy-

chiatric patients, saw the hospital ready to move again in the 1920's. In 1924 the Monks Orchard estate at Beckenham, on the Kent Surrey border, was bought. The new buildings, designed by J. A. Cheston and C. E. Elcock, were begun in 1928 and opened by Queen Mary in 1930. The four wards—Tyson, Fitzmary, Gresham, and Witley—are housed in separate units, each having its own large garden. The old mansion house of Monks Orchard, completed in 1854 by Lewis Loyd of the banking firm of Jones Loyd & Co., was pulled down, but its terraced garden can still be seen in the garden of Witley House.

The hospital's greatest administrative change since the 16th century came with the introduction of the National Health Service in 1948. The link with Bridewell was severed after nearly 400 years' duration and another was immediately formed, with the Maudsley Hospital in Denmark Hill. The two are now administered jointly by a single Board of Governors as one postgraduate Teaching Hospital, known formally as The Bethlem Royal Hospital and The Maudsley Hospital, and informally as The Joint Hospital. Together with their medical school, the Institute of Psychiatry, they comprise the only postgraduate institution in this country devoted wholly to the teaching of psychiatry.

THE MAUDSLEY HOSPITAL

The Maudsley Hospital owes its foundation to the intiative and persistence of one man, Henry Maudsley.

The third of four brothers, Henry Maudsley was born at his father's farmhouse, Rome, in the parish of Giggleswick, W. Yorks, on February 5, 1835. His father, Thomas Maudsley, described himself as yeoman, and his mother, Mary Bateson, was the daughter of a farmer at Scale Hall near Lancaster. His mother, had she lived, would have liked to see him become a clergyman, but she died when he was still a child.

His school education was received at Giggleswick School, which he thought did him little good, and afterward as a private pupil for two years with the Rev. Alfred Newth at Oundle, from which he benefitted more. His greatest educational debt, however, he acknowledged to his aunt Elizabeth Bateson who, amongst other things, introduced him to poetry at an early age.

After matriculating at London University in the first division, he declined "to go in for honours." He decided on a medical career, and was accordingly apprenticed to University College Hospital for five

years. If Maudsley's own words are to be believed, this did not do him much good either, though he owned the fault to be largely his own. When the man to whom he was nominally apprenticed left for private practice, his experience moved him to say that "he never had but one pupil and would never have another," and his successors "made no pretence of meddling" with their apprentice. Maudsley felt that his own attitude at this period was adequately summed up by a remark attributed to the professor of physiology, that "Maudsley has great abilities but he has chosen to throw them into the gutter."

Despite all this he gained the gold medal and first place in all six of the classes in which he competed, and in his London University examinations gained a scholarship and gold medal in surgery and three more gold medals; these 10 medals he later, with what one feels to be typical practicality, exchanged for a gold watch.

Having chosen surgery for his career Maudsley applied for a House Surgeonship at the Liverpool Southern Hospital, but lost it because a letter was delayed in the post. "Disheartened and disgusted by this contretemps," he turned to psychiatry in order to gain the necessary experience to qualify for service in the East India Company. A temporary post at the Wakefield Asylum was followed by a short and uncongenial spell at the Essex County Asylum until—the lure of India now apparently diminished—he was appointed medical superintendent to the Manchester Royal Lunatic Asylum at the age of 24: "a somewhat rash appointment," he wrote 50 years later.

After three years Maudsley returned to London and thereafter, in his own words, his life was spent "in getting such practice in lunacy as I could, which increased gradually, and in writing the books which I published in succession." Or, since he was too modest to say so, in becoming one of the most eminent psychiatrists of his day.

In 1907, through his intermediary Dr. (later Sir) Frederick Mott, who was then pathologist to the London County Asylums, and director of the Pathological Laboratory, Maudsley offered £30,000 to the London County Council toward establishing a hospital under the following conditions: the hospital was to be for early and acute cases only; it was to have an outpatient department; it was to be equipped for 75 to 100 patients, 50 to 75 pauper patients, and the remainder paying patients; and it was to be in a central position, within three to four miles of Trafalgar Square.

Due provision was to be made for clinical and pathological research (the suggestion was made to move the staff and equipment of Mott's laboratory at Claybury to the new institution if this was considered suitable). This hospital, laboratory, and teaching side of the institute were to be recognized as a school of the University of London, for the study of mental diseases and neuropathology.

The London County Council was to have entire charge, control, maintenance, and upkeep of the institution, except for appointing medical officers and in matters relating to education and research; it was suggested in this connection that three nominees of the London University should be co-opted with the Asylums Sub-Committee of Management of the Institution. Only cases certified as insane or convalescent after cure of insanity, or cases brought by practitioners for advice and treatment were to be received at the institution.

It was about nine months before the Council was able formally to accept the offer, as there was some doubt as to whether their statutory powers would allow compliance with some of Maudsley's conditions: but Maudsley was resolute, the Asylums Committee was in agreement with him about the desirability of the whole project and, finally, it was agreed to go ahead with the building of a hospital at an estimated cost of £50,000 to £60,000. An Act of Parliament was later obtained to cover points which had been in doubt.

The next problem was that of a suitable site, which in 1910 was still "engaging the earnest attention" of the Asylums Committee, and the purchase of the site in Denmark Hill was not completed until 1911. Maudsley believed the delay to be caused by lack of enthusiasm among the "moderates" on the Council, and declared that "the cost of getting the thing done after the Council had accepted the proposal, was a greater burden than the money"; but he was then in his 70's and naturally anxious to see his plans come to fruition, and perhaps he exaggerated a little.

One can see Maudsley's point, however, in noting that the contractors did not move onto the site until August 1913. Even now the way was far from smooth and, after five months, work was brought to a virtual standstill by a building trades strike, which in its turn was ended only by the outbreak of war.

Maudsley lived to see his hospital built and used, though not for its intended purposes. With his complete concurrence the buildings

were handed over, as completed and equipped, for use as a military hospital, first under the Fourth London General Hospital and afterwards as a separate unit. The hospital was used for the treatment of nervous disorders arising from war service. The original plan for moving the pathological laboratory from Claybury and installing it under Mott's direction at the hospital was carried out in 1916; part of the laboratory was loaned to the War Office for research. Work done at the hospital during the war was said to have had Maudsley's entire sympathy, and he appreciated the research contribution made by the laboratory.

Henry Maudsley died on January 24, 1918. The Maudsley Hospital was demobilized in 1919, and then loaned to the Ministry of Pensions for similar work. Vacated in October 1920, the hospital still seems to have been beset by an inbuilt delaying mechanism, and protracted negotiation with the government followed, concerning the settlement of accounts for dilapidations and reinstatement. It was finally opened by the Minister of Health on January 31, 1923, 15½ years after Maudsley's offer had first been put forward.

Dr. Edward Mapother was appointed the first medical superintendent, and Dr. F. L. Golla took over the directorship of the pathological laboratory. Recognition as a medical school of the University of London was granted in 1924, and chairs in psychiatry and the pathology of mental disease (later redesignated neuropathology) were instituted in 1936, to be occupied first by Mapother and Golla respectively. The number of chairs has subsequently risen to nine.

Major building extensions took place in 1932, 1936, and 1939; but on the outbreak of World War II the buildings were all evacuated, the hospital dispersed to Mill Hill and Sutton, and the laboratories to West Park Hospital. Lectures were continued at the otherwise empty hospital, and clinical teaching was carried on at Mill Hill and Sutton. On its return to normal after the war the program of postgraduate education was enlarged.

In 1948, just before The Maudsley Hospital's amalgamation with The Bethlem Royal, the British Postgraduate Medical Federation on behalf of the University of London took over the administrative and financial control of the medical school, which was renamed the Institute of Psychiatry. The Institute moved in 1967 to a new building in De Crespigny Park, adjacent to the Maudsley Hospital, but it remains

the medical school of the Joint Hospital, and even the physical separation is more apparent on paper than in practice. At the highest level, the theoretically distinct governing bodies share many members in common; and joint appointments, joint committees, and interchange of services strengthen the mutual dependence which is indispensable to both parts of the institution.